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Home Market Club  
(Boston, Mass.)

The Home Market Club's  
23d annual reception...

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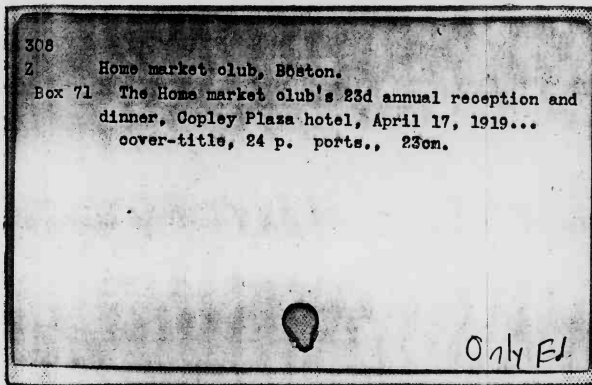
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# The Home Market Club's

## 23rd Annual Reception and Dinner

Copley Plaza Hotel, April 17, 1919

### ADDRESSES

#### COUNTRY NEEDS ADEQUATE PROTECTION.

*By Wm. B. H. Dowse,  
President, Home Market Club.*

#### REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP

*By Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge,  
U. S. Senator from Massachusetts.*

#### THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

*By Hon. Frederick H. Gillett,  
Speaker House of Representative.*

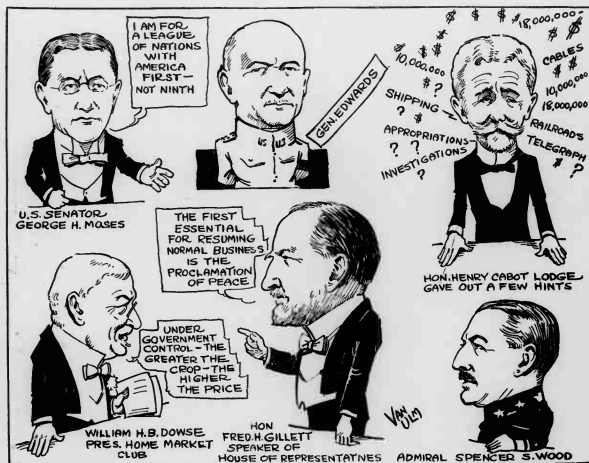
#### AMERICA FIRST.

*By Hon. George H. Moses,  
U. S. Senator from New Hampshire.*

## THE HOME MARKET CLUB'S TWENTY-THIRD DINNER.

On Thursday evening, April 17, nearly six hundred members and friends of the Home Market Club joined in the Club's reception and

It was the twenty-third dinner of the club and coming so soon after the return of many soldiers from their victory over the Germans on



A CARTOONIST'S IMPRESSION OF THE SPEAKERS.  
By Sidney Van Uin of the Boston Evening Record.

dinner given at the Copley Plaza Hotel, Boston, in honor of Hon. Frederick H. Gillett, nominee of the Republican majority for Speaker of the National House of Representa-

the battlefields of France, it had somewhat of a military aspect, though the speeches treated rather of the problems of peace than of war—taxes, the railroads, shipping, telephones, tele-

graphs and cables, as well as the equally important protective tariff—which are pressing for solution.

Behind the speakers' table were hung splendid flags of the nations which won the victory over Germany—the Italian, the French, the British and the United States. The souvenirs, bearing red, white and blue ribbons, were Yankee Division buttons. During the dinner, patriotic music was played by the orchestra and songs the soldiers sang were rendered with spirit by the guests moved by their rhythm, their "go" and sentiment.

Prior to the dinner a reception which lasted from 6 to 6.30 o'clock was held in the foyer of the ballroom in honor of the distinguished guests. Those who served on the Reception Committee were:

### RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Hon. Geo. H. Ellis, Boston, Chairman; Col. S. O. Bigney, Attleboro; Jacob F. Brown, Boston; Hon. William M. Butler, Boston; Louis A. Coolidge, Boston; Philip Dana, Westbrook, Me.; B. H. B. Draper, Hopedale; Fred W. Estabrook, Nashua, N. H.; Col. Edward H. Haskell, Franklin W. Hobbs, Frank B. Hopewell, Boston; L. J. Knowles, Worcester; A. G. Pollard, Lowell; Lieut. Com. Richard S. Russell, Boston; Edwin J. Seward, Worcester; Hon. Channing Smith, Cherry Valley; E. Ray Speare, Cambridge, and Capt. Sinclair Weeks.

At 6.45 the party marched to the strains of Teel's orchestra, to the

great ball room, where the dinner was served.

At the speakers' table were seated the following guests:

Hon. Willfred W. Lufkin, Essex; Col. Edward H. Haskell, Boston; Hon. Frederick W. Dallinger, Cambridge; Hon. Charles H. Hutchins, Worcester; Hon. Calvin D. Paige, Southbridge; James R. MacColl, Providence, R. I.; Commander I. E. Bass, of the Boston Navy Yard; Hon. Bert M. Fernald, U. S. Senator from Maine; Major-General Clarence R. Edwards, Commander of the Department of the Northeast; Hon. Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the House of Representatives; William B. H. Dowse, President Home Market Club; Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge, U. S. Senator, Massachusetts; Admiral Spencer S. Wood, Commander of the First Naval District; Hon. George H. Moses, U. S. Senator from New Hampshire; Brigadier-General John W. Ruckman; Andrew Adie, President United States Worst Company; Hon. William S. Greene, Fall River; Hon. Lyman B. Goff, Pawtucket, R. I.; Hon. Robert Luce, Waltham; Hon. George H. Ellis, President Republican Club of Massachusetts.

After the dinner was served a bugler played "Colors" and President Dowse rose and proposed the following toast:

The United States, Sovereign, Free and Independent. We pledge our support and allegiance to the Constitution, to the Flag and to our heroic Army and Navy.

18 March, 1920 - C.R.W.

The audience rose and stood while the orchestra played "The Star Spangled Banner."

President Dowse then delivered a short address, a fitting introduction to the more extended addresses by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, Speaker Gillett, and Senator Moses of New Hampshire. In presenting the Senior Senator from Massachusetts Mr. Dowse said: "I have the pleasure to introduce a man whom we all know and honor — our Senator — Henry Cabot Lodge." That he was known and admired by those present was evident from the prolonged ovation given him when he rose to speak.

In introducing the Speaker of the Sixty-sixth Congress soon to be called in extra session, Mr. Dowse said:

"The popular branch of our national legislature has come to Massachusetts for its presiding officer five times. In 1799, ten years after the first assembling of Congress, Theodore Sedgwick of Massachusetts was elected Speaker. In 1807 Joseph B. Varnum of this State was chosen, and he served during a part of the administrations of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison. Forty years later the eloquent Robert C. Winthrop was elected to the Speakership. In the stirring days preceding the Civil War Gen. Nathaniel P. Banks, then a young Representative from this State, was elected after an exciting contest.

After a lapse of 65 years the honor once more comes to Massachusetts, and I ask you to rise and greet the Speaker of the House, Hon. Frederick H. Gillett."

In making the diners acquainted with the senior Senator from New Hampshire, Mr. Dowse said:

"There is a strong bond of fellowship between New Hampshire and Massachusetts. In the days of the Revolution the sons of these two States fought together for our independence. Together they followed the Flag to Mexico, and that war made a son of New Hampshire—Franklin Pierce—President of the United States. In the Civil War they fought side by side under the leadership of Lincoln, Sherman and Grant. They helped to free Cuba and the Philippines. In the Great War, New Hampshire and Massachusetts again fought together for liberty and righteousness, and so we welcome the Senator from New Hampshire, the successor of Gallinger,—Hon. George H. Moses."

Senator Moses immediately put himself and his audience in sympathy by his keen, crisp, incisive sentences, his wit and his vigorous stand for America. New Hampshire need have no fears for her new Senator who will prove a worthy successor to the lamented Gallinger who served his state so long and so well in the upper chamber of Congress.



HON. HENRY CABOT LODGE,  
U. S. Senator from Massachusetts.



HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT,  
Speaker, U. S. House of Representatives.



HON. GEORGE H. MOSES  
U. S. Senator from New Hampshire.



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## INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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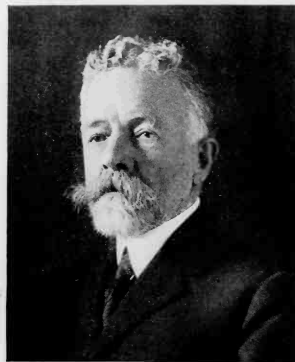
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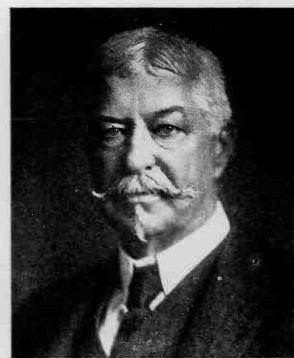
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WILLIAM B. H. DOWSE,  
President, Home Market Club.

## COUNTRY NEEDS ADEQUATE PROTECTION.

*By William B. H. Dowse, President of The Home Market Club.*

*Address at the Twenty-third Annual Dinner.*

Guests and Members of the Home Market Club:

I have the honor to greet you at our dinner. I desire especially to extend at this time the greetings of this Club to the members who are with us of the Army and Navy. No transient words of mine are adequate to express our feelings toward you. You can rest assured that as long as history is written and read the glorious record of your achievements in the World War will be known to mankind.

You recall how, in ancient Rome, when the victorious legions returned they were given a triumphal progress through the city, displaying their booty and leading their captives in chains. You, thank God, have no booty and need no captives, for you have all the citizens of this great city and old Commonwealth as your captives, chained in admiration of your glorious deeds.

I shall not touch on the League of Nations, capital and labor, or on the Bolsheviks. I must say, however, I love law and order and stable institutions. I have no sympathy with hasty changes and rash innovations. I have only a word to say:—a plea for this nation.

From the point of view of a manufacturer this nation is drifting, but without a compass or a rudder. Personally, I cannot see how there can be a serious issue on the tariff question for some years, for I believe that

both Republicans and Democrats will join to create a tariff on foreign importations as a means to raise a substantial sum for the country's needs; a tariff,—be it for revenue only or for protection,—seems certain. Certainly adequate protection is needed.

Today, what of the manufacturer in this country? Broadly speaking, he does not know where he is; he is asked to buy in a high market and sell in a low one. This means bankruptcy or an approach to it. The Government has commandeered all raw material and controls the price. It has put an embargo on all importations. We cannot cable to foreign countries without intolerable delays; it takes six weeks to cable to India and from three to four weeks to cable to South America. The wires are full of the Paris conference.

The Government is left with four hundred million pounds of sixty-cent wool when wool is selling in the world markets at thirty-one cents a pound. The deficit this year on the railways averages thirty-seven million per month. All these deficits must be met out of taxation.

To avoid a loss of about one billion dollars, the consumers of the United States are expected to pay twice the market value for their food and raiment. The country asks for a reduction in the high cost of living, but prices are held at their present level by government decree. Flour is

\$15.25 per barrel and \$1.92 per bag. The coming crop promises to be the largest ever known. Under government control, the greater the crop, the higher the price.

Wages of labor will remain where they are until the cost of living goes down; labor will continue to demand higher wages as long as the cost of living is where it is. While the price of raw material and food is artificially high by reason of Government control, the manufacturer is helpless.

The President said in his last New York address:—

"I am amazed [not alarmed but amazed], that there should be in some quarters, such a comprehensive ignorance of the state of the world."

Is not this amazing language from a man who was urging for years neutrality on the part of this government, in the midst of international outrages?

I am amazed and I am alarmed that the President should be so ignorant of conditions in the United States. For years the President stood in this

country and took no note of the outside world. Now he stands in Paris and takes no note of the United States. He obtained his last election because he kept this country out of war; now he would have us enter into an agreement to go to war with every nation in the world to enforce peace. In his world-view, the President has entirely forgotten that there is a country called the United States and that he is President of it. For almost six months, we have been drifting and I can see rocks ahead.

I remember St. Paul and his vision in the night:—a Macedonian appeared before him and besought him: "Come over into Macedonia and help us!"

May the President of this great Republic have in Paris a vision at night of one hundred and ten millions of the citizens of this great country of ours, and may he hear a great cry go up:

"Come over into America and help us!"

## REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP.

*By Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge.*

*Address at Home Market Club Dinner, April 17, 1919.*

Mr. Chairman, and Gentlemen of the Home Market Club:

The government of the United States under the Constitution has been in operation for 130 years. I know that by many people such an age as that is considered to be against it. Personally I am still so much of a reactionary, as some

people are fond of terming me, that I think, with all allowance for human fallibility and human error, that it is the best government and has been the best government ever devised by man on this earth.

I hope to see it continue. I hope it will go on, following the great lines marked out for it by the

founders; that it will continue to be the government which Lincoln described as "of the people, for the people, by the people." I think it is a better government and a safer government for human rights and human liberty than any autocracy set up by socialism or any tyranny established by bolshevism.

During the first half of those 130 years Massachusetts gave to the country four speakers of the national House—Sedgwick, Varnum, Winthrop, and the last, Gen. Banks, in 1856 and 1857. Now, in the closing year of the second half of that period, our representative and friend, Mr. Gillett, comes back to bring to Massachusetts again that great office, and lays it at her feet, and to be added to the long roll of distinguished men who have represented her in the government of the United States.

I do not propose to say anything about the Senate. It has certain duties peculiar to it. To the Senate is entrusted such matters as treaties and it is well to remember that while the President has the sole power to initiate and negotiate, no treaty can become the supreme law of the land without the approbation of the Senate. And with the power to ratify goes the power to amend.

I wish to speak of the House of Representatives, because we are honored tonight and we are met here to welcome the next Speaker of the present Congress. It is a good opportunity for a Senator to indicate what he thinks the House ought to do when he has the leader

of the House at his right hand. The speakership of the national House of Representatives is one of the greatest offices under the government. It has been the fashion to say that of late it has been shorn of much of its power because the Speaker no longer selects the committees. I am not perfectly sure, from such observation as I have been able to make, that that great change was on the whole a beneficial one, but the fact remains that the Speaker no longer appoints the committees. Yet in the early days of our government there were only one or two committees—I think the first committee appointed was the Ways and Means Committee—but the speakership was then considered, as it is today, a post of great power and great importance, because the Speaker of the House, while he occupies the chair, is the officer of the House. He makes his rulings in accordance with parliamentary law and in accordance with the rules of the House, so far as he knows them; and I have never found anybody yet who knew all the rules of the House. But he makes those rulings without regard to party, and solely as the law and the rules require. But out of the chair he is the leader of the responsible majority party and is so recognized by the entire Congress of the United States. I am sure that the House and the Republican party, and best of all, the country, are going to benefit largely by the leadership of Mr. Gillett. The speakership comes to him as the de-

served reward of a long and distinguished career. He brings to it not only knowledge and ability and experience, but he brings character, and a courage which has never failed in the expression of his convictions. He will find himself confronted, as the majority which he leads in the House are confronted, by one of the most difficult situations which any House of Representatives has ever faced.

The country has passed through the great war—passed through it, thanks to our soldiers and sailors, victoriously. But any great convulsion such as the world has just passed through, any great convulsion of war, necessarily involves the doing of a great many things by the Congress which are only justifiable under the war power. We must return in time of peace to the limitations of the Constitution, and we must return also to the proper division of the functions of government between the three great departments of government, the legislative, the executive and the judicial.

During the war, for instance, Congress has appropriated money without question, as it was asked for it by the executive department. The duty of Congress is to scrutinize appropriations and care for the expenditure of the people's money. Under the pressure of war that care and scrutiny necessarily have been largely set aside in the interests of the people, the most generous people on the face of the earth, who have given their money and paid their taxes with a liberality and an absence of grumb-

ling which are in the highest degree admirable, and which have excited, I think, the marvel of the world. But it is the duty of Congress to observe now the old rule. We have no right to waste the people's money. Every debt must be paid. Every war obligation must be fulfilled, and no one need suppose for a moment that every obligation put upon us by the war of any kind will fail to be observed. When Congress is in the hands of the Republican party it will fulfil those obligations as it fulfilled the obligations of the Civil War. But the House originates the appropriation bills, and the first great burden falls upon them. The Senate has only the minor part of occasionally offering an amendment; and the duty comes on them now—the old duty revived—of scrutinizing the appropriations and inquiring into the expenditure of money.

In this country—I am not speaking of expenditures abroad—there has undoubtedly been and is today great waste and extravagance. All that must come to an end. This is no time to burden the people needlessly. The House also frames the revenue bills. That right is secured to them by the Constitution and after the revenue bills go the bond bills, the bills for borrowing money. We shall have a great deal of money to borrow, and heavy taxes still to pay. There is a loan now before the country. It ought to be filled and filled quickly. Every bond ought to be taken without any delay whatever. For that loan is to pay the debts incurred by the war. Yet this loan is but the



forerunner of others. It was estimated by the Treasury experts, when they came before the committee of the Senate in regard to the loan bond bill, that the expenditures of the government for the next fiscal year would reach \$18,000,000,000. First it seems strange, with the war over, that there should be such an enormous sum required. But you must remember that we have still a great army under pay. On the first of April there were between thirteen and fourteen hundred thousand men in France, and their pay must be provided. Every debt to them must be paid first. The great debt which the war has already incurred will reach probably an annual interest charge, without regard to sinking fund, of \$800,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000. That must be provided for. The navy is the great bulwark of the defence of the United States. It is the first line of defence. I hope from the bottom of my heart that we shall be able to bring about a general reduction of armaments. That is a burden which ought to be lifted, so far as is possible, from the shoulders of the people of the world. But whether there is a reduction or not, the navy of the United States, in proportion to other armaments, must always be strong enough to protect us, not only on the Atlantic, where the need of protection has been greatly diminished, but also on the Pacific. And assuming, if you please, a reduction of armaments or, if you please, none, the navy of the United States must always be maintained. That is another great branch of expenditures, be-

cause it involves a certain amount of building, be it large or little, every year, and a program must be followed.

I have indicated only some of the normal expenses of the government. But in addition—and I do not think these figures are included in the \$18,000,000,000, although I am not perfectly sure—we made a promise to maintain wheat at a certain price. I have no faith in price fixing of any kind, but it was made and it became law. It is a promise, and it must be maintained, because the United States must keep all her promises. To maintain the price of wheat will probably cost in the neighborhood of \$1,000,000,000.

The United States, during the period of government management of the railroads, has managed to incur a debt which now, I think, reaches into \$700,000,000. That must be paid. There are other items, but I am not going to make a financial speech, and I did not mean to say as much on finance as I have. But all that money must be raised. Take the \$18,000,000,000. The present revenue law presumes to raise \$6,000,000,000, though I think it is probable that it may not raise quite so much. But at all events, assuming \$6,000,000,000, there are \$1,000,000,000 further that must be raised, and they can only be raised by loans. We authorized \$7,000,000,000, and they have issued a loan for \$4,500,000,000. But the rest must be raised, because there are debts that must be paid, and it will fall upon the Congress of the United States, and on the House in the first

instance, to make provision for those great expenditures, a legacy of the war. That is a very grave duty to those who are going to frame the bills under the leadership of Mr. Gillett.

Then there are a number of domestic questions that ought to be dealt with. As a matter of fact, the Congress of the United States ought to be in session at this moment, and ought to have been called in March to deal with the railroad question alone. It is one of the most difficult questions ever presented. The government management has failed, I think deplorably. It is recognized that we cannot go back to the old system as it was. It is also recognized generally, I think, that there must be in the railroads in the future the care and zeal which come from private management. But with that there must be also strong government supervision and regulation. I am not attempting by that mere generality to solve the railroad question. It will require the very best ability that can be brought to it, and it ought to be dealt with now. Government ownership does not seem to have been altogether satisfactory in regard to railroads or telegraphs, or perhaps telephones, or even as to cables. There never was the slightest reason on earth for taking over the telegraphs, telephones and cables. They had done their work through the war, as was admitted by the people who took them, admirably and well; they can be restored. I am not undertaking here tonight to attribute motives, but the cables were taken, without the slightest reason that any one can see,

when the war had come to an end, taken under the war power given for war purposes, and the only tangible effect we get from that is a large suppression or a capricious uniformity of all the news that comes from Paris. And even to go back behind the war powers, it would do no harm, I think, to improve the postal service a little.

We ought to investigate some of the enterprises into which the government has been launched, have them fairly and thoroughly investigated and the facts laid before the country. We ought to know what the situation is. We ought to know why we spent so many hundreds of millions on aeroplanes, and then, at the close of the war, according to Gen. Pershing's report, had 247 all told, I think, and no combat planes. We might look into the question of the heavy artillery, for I think we used almost exclusively the French 75's. I think we would do well to inquire into the operations of the shipping board.

These things involve colossal sums of the people's money that have been spent. I hope to see the House take up all these questions, for the House has more members in proportion to committees than we have, and they have committees there which could devote their time to some of these investigations. We want to get back to a normal basis on fuel and food, and all these things require investigation and legislation. I have merely touched on the high points, but this is the work that lies before the House and Senate, which I suppose will assemble at some time before the statutory day in December.

One always feels a little hesitant in referring to the Constitution, but the Constitution requires that Congress should meet at least once a year. Also the laws require that no money should be paid from the Treasury except on appropriations, and a number of appropriation bills failed. Therefore, unless the army and the navy are to go unpaid and a great many public works come to a stop we shall have to have a meeting of Congress in time to pass some bills or some continuing resolutions before the first of July, and when the Congress once comes together it is master of its own fate. It can adjourn when it pleases, take a recess when it pleases, and what is most important of all, can come together when it pleases.

That, in bare outline, and only as to a few points, is what lies before the House, where most of this legislation on appropriation and revenue bills begins, the Senate, as I said before, having the amending power. And these measures ought to be taken up at once and dealt with. They will require the greatest possible unity of work between the two houses. There must be a general policy on which the majority in both houses are agreed. And I said to my friend, the Speaker, during the dinner, that there was one thing we could say with confidence—that so far as he and I were concerned, there was no danger of jealousies or differences, for though his office is considered as one well within the presidential circle, neither he nor I can have any competition in that direction. We are both immune from the presidential malady, and we nei-

ther of us are competitors for that office, for I am far too old, and he is too young. I believe the Republicans in both houses appreciate the enormous burden of responsibility which has fallen upon them. I am sure they mean to deal with these difficult problems I have suggested, and deal with them to the very best of their ability. They will shirk nothing. They will carry out everything that is necessary to make the war a success in the peace we make, because the peace we make with Germany is a part of the war, and it must be carried out. It is part of the war to finish the war. The peace with Germany must be carried through, and we shall probably have to furnish troops for the army of occupation under the provision made for reparation of damages. Everything that relates to that war will be carried out by the Republican party with the utmost thoroughness, and in the same spirit in which we stood all through the war, backing the war to the utmost of our power while we were a minority. We will carry it through and finish it, so far as we have the power, while we are a majority in Congress.

It is a very great task. The Republican party is to be congratulated, the state of Massachusetts is to be congratulated, the country is to be congratulated, that the Republicans, now in control of both branches of Congress, have made such an admirable selection as that of Mr. Gillett to lead the House through all these trying questions that spread before us.

(Prolonged cheering.)

## THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES.

*By Hon. Frederick H. Gillett, Speaker of the House of Representatives.*

*Address at Home Market Club Dinner, April 17, 1919.*

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen:

I thank you sincerely for this very cordial greeting. I was of course greatly pleased when I succeeded last February in being nominated to the office which had long been my cherished ambition. But I am not sure that since I came home and have received the congratulations of my friends, and have felt the reaction, my pleasure has not been greater. I do not mean, of course, the exaggerated compliments from my friend, the Senator, for I make due allowance for the rhetorical fervor of an orator on his feet. But as I have been in my district I could not escape appreciating that my constituents felt I had brought home an honor to them, and it really gives me, I believe, as much pleasure to receive their congratulations and good will as I originally had in my election.

I met a little while ago in Washington a man who said to me that his great grandfather about 100 years ago had been sent to Congress from his district 13 terms, and that it had always been the chief distinction of his family that he had held longer office from the district than any other man in Massachusetts. "Now," he said, "last fall, when your district elected you for the fourteenth time you took away our distinction." So you see, my district has been more faithful, has elected me oftener than

has ever occurred before to any other man in Massachusetts, and consequently it is peculiarly pleasing for me to go back and meet my constituents and show them at last that my associates in Congress have endorsed the confidence they placed in me. I have never met Boston audiences much. I do not want to be over-modest, but I never have cared, I think, very much for conspicuous service. I have been content to satisfy my own district, and if I had to come down here it was because I was drafted in the past, and not because I sought it. It has been the same way in Congress. My colleagues will confirm it when I say that there I have generally devoted myself to the work of my committee, and it has happened that the committee on appropriations, where I have so long served, has been the most hard-working, involves the most drudgery and the least recognition of any committee in Congress. And so there I do not think I have been one of the publicity-seeking members, and that, I confess, makes it to me pleasant to find that my colleagues have selected me as their candidate for the speakership.

The activities of a Club like this, devoted to the protection and growth of the "home market," were never more essential than they are today. One of the clearest and most impressive lessons of the war is that

every country ought to create within its own boundaries everything that is necessary for its own business life. We have been compelled by the exigencies of the war to build up in the United States within the last four years many industries which it had been impossible to have before, important industries which, I have no doubt, representatives of the Home Market Club have embraced, and in relation to which have tried to secure from Congress the necessary protection, industries which at last under the pressure, the embargo of war, have been created. What shall we do with these industries now? Shall we not continue them and recognize that in the future the United States must supply its own needs and do its own work? That, it seems to me, is the obvious lesson of the war. That theme was not given me to develop. My friend and colleague, Mr. Fordney, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, an expert on that subject, was expected to be here, and I am very sorry that a death in his family has prevented him from addressing this Club. But I could not forbear from saying a word about the principle which your very name implies, which your history illustrates, and which never made a stronger appeal than now to the business judgment and to our national pride.

Now the subject which your Secretary assigned to me was "The Congress of the United States." When Senator Lodge said he was going to talk about the House of Representatives I confess I shivered a little. We have certain things about each other—the different houses have—which

we do not generally air in public, and I thought I might be compelled to say and express a few views I have about the United States Senate. But I am not going to. I only want to say that I have the most absolute admiration and respect for and confidence in the leader of the United States Senate, and it occurs to me, my friends, that if Massachusetts has got any little due bills against the United States, the coming session will be a good time to collect them.

The most striking feature, in my opinion, just now about the Congress of the United States, the most unfortunate and the most indefensible, is that the Congress is not now at work. I suppose the famous statement of Garfield is still true—that the government at Washington still lives. But the government does not seem to still live at Washington. The President is in Paris; the Secretary of State, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, are away, the Secretary of Commerce, I believe, is in Boston. There is only one of these department heads that I know of who is in Washington, and that is the one with whom we could most gladly dispense—the Postmaster-General.

The President and his confreres in Paris have with them an army of retainers, some official and some unofficial, some authorized by law and some unauthorized, and some, I am sure, are drawing fine salaries. There is a feeling at Washington nowadays that any Democrat who has not had a joy-ride at the government's expense to the most attractive and expensive pleasure resort in the world just now is a mere piker. You know

the latest beatitude is, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall see Paris."

When war is raging it is inevitable that Congress shall occupy a secondary position. The Executive is then the centre of the stage; the army and navy are arms of the Executive; and therefore not only the most conspicuous, but the real, the vital settlements of war are made by the Executive. And so Congress necessarily takes a secondary position. The last Congress was a war Congress; it passed appropriation bills, it passed revenue bills, with sums surpassing all records. It is without a rival in that respect. But I am disposed to think that the most striking characteristic of the last war Congress was its absolute abdication of initiative. It left the initiative absolutely to the Executive and became simply a register of the wishes of the Administration.

Why, I remember that some years ago, when a Republican administration was in power, one of the leaders of the Democratic party rose and denounced a committee because they dared to bring before Congress a bill which had been prepared by one of the departments. He said it was the duty of the committee, the duty of Congress, to draft its bills, and that Congress ought not to allow the encroachment of the Executive in even suggesting a bill. How obsolete that sounds today. Why, my friends, in the last Congress there was hardly a bill of any prominence suggested in which the man who introduced it did not take pains to tell Congress that it was drawn and approved by the

Administration. Sometimes it was necessary, in order to get the support of the dominant party, to make a statement like that.

I do not remember that there was more than one occasion on which Congress ventured to dispute and disagree with a presidential recommendation. That was very early in the session when the administration asked in the army bill for a lump sum, an appropriation of \$3,000,000 for the war department to spend as it pleased. Well, now, it is an inherited instinct with Congress never to grant lump sums to departments. I presume we have inherited that down through hundreds of years from our British ancestors. Because the only way is to give some specific definition to limit appropriations for a department. Consequently, when that request was made it was granted by the Military Committee, but the House after a sharp debate, turned it down, indicating that the House had the right to insist on limitations so that we should have an idea of how much money was going to be spent in detail. But that was the last outbreak of independence. After that there was not a bill suggested that was not readily followed by Congress. I think that the inherited instinct the House has that we ought to know how money is going to be spent will get a little increased impetus when we find out how the President has spent the \$100,000,000 we put at his discretion to expend during this war. I am sorry to feel that there has been a decided tendency on the part of the departments to use the war exigency as a sort of cloak under which they

would increase their power, given for war, and use it for whatever purposes they pleased.

As an illustration of that—because we feared it—there was a motion made in the United States Senate by the leader of the Democratic party in the Senate. A motion was offered and carried without much discussion that a committee on expenditures be appointed, consisting of five members of each house. It was to watch expenditures, they had got so enormous, and we found it so impossible in our appropriation bills to provide for limiting how much and how the sums should be spent that we thought, in order to keep a reasonable check on the departments, that we had better have a committee to trace the money. That went through the Senate without objection. It came to the House, and there was a general understanding that it would go through the House until there came a letter from the President expressing great opposition to the measure. The letter was sent to the man who had the matter in charge. That, of course, brought the Democrats solidly against the measure and it was defeated, and that was the last opportunity for us to have any sane and careful inspection and safeguarding of the expenses. After that letters of that kind were very frequent. Why, there was an epistolary communication between the committees and heads of departments which covered a large part of our legislation.

That reminds me of a little incident Secretary Shaw once told me about. He said he had an old colored man who used to come to his office

to bring letters to sign every day. He would put a letter down on the desk, and after the Secretary had signed the man would put down another. One day a letter caught the Secretary's eye, and he said, really communing with himself, "James, it seems to me that I have read that already. What are the circumstances of that letter?" He was really talking to himself. "I don't know nothing," replied the colored man, "about the circumstances, Sir, but you signs dar." The Secretary signed "dar," and that was the last attempt he made at independence. And so from the day of that first letter against the creation of an expenditure committee a letter from the head of a department was sure to make any Democratic committee "sign dar" instantly. There has not been any investigation or scrutiny of these enormous expenditures except what could be made in advance by the appropriation committees.

Now, I suppose the old axiom is true that love of power is bred by the possession of power. So, it seems to me, there has suddenly been growing up in the Administration a constant desire for more and more power. It was not simply the Democrats who have acquiesced in the desires of the Administration. We Republicans decided early in the session that there was only one thing we could consider. We could not have any partisan division, and we acquiesced with the Democrats in bestowing on the Executive and the different departments all the powers and all the functions they thought they could possibly use for the successful prosecution of the war. There was no division of party. But,

my friends, the President now tells us that the war is over. It therefore seems to me that the time has come for Congress to resume its functions. It is time for us to inspect the appropriations, to inspect the powers the Administration desires.

So, it seems to me, one of the first duties of the incoming Congress is to go back to normal times and see that there shall again be division of the government into different branches, and that the Executive shall become once more one of the co-ordinate branches of the government. Some of the stretches of power exerted by the Administration seem to me pretty indefensible. Of course, the most flagrant one you all know, the one alluded to by Senator Lodge, the fact that the Postmaster-General took over the telegraphs, telephones and cables after peace was assured, although he knew that Congress granted that power simply as a war emergency. It seems to me that was such an exercise of power as in the future we shall be able to veto. The Administration from now on, I think, will probably take notice that peace has returned, and that it can no longer receive from Congress without scrutiny, as it has in the past, whatever powers it desires.

The return of peace, of course, brings with it for us new issues. I am hoping, myself personally, that part of the treaty of peace will be a league of nations. I personally want that there should be a league which will in the future have supervision over the different relations of the different nations. And it seems to me that that is so clearly for the interest

of Europe that America, in entering such a league, is so clearly making a sacrifice and not gaining an advantage, that any terms we ask that are fairly reasonable Europe will be only too glad to grant. I notice that it looks as if an accommodation was coming. I noticed the other day that the cables had sent over a report that in eleven minutes the President had made such a convincing speech to the three other great powers that they had accepted the Monroe Doctrine. I was delighted that a cable under Mr. Burleson was able to bring forth that very interesting fact, that there was a speech of eleven minutes and that the President was entitled to all the credit of it. It is all the more commendable when we consider that he convinced them in eleven minutes, whereas it had taken eleven weeks for the Senate and public opinion to convince him that the Monroe Doctrine must be preserved.

The return of peace is going, of course, to require of us entirely new issues. Lloyd George said recently, "All internal events in every country are dependent upon peace. Pending this, commerce and industry are kept in a kind of stagnation which can only engender disorders." That which is true in England is true here. Therefore the one thing we want, it seems to me, with or without a league of nations, is immediate peace. Disorders are beginning to show themselves in this country. Business cannot adapt itself to the future until the uncertainty of war is taken away. That is the first uncertainty that must be removed. Therefore, it seems to me, the first thing we desire is an

immediate peace. Then it is time for business to begin to prepare itself for other difficulties.

I appreciate that this Congress, which is going to meet, I don't know when, but which must meet before long, has before it issues that are more difficult than those in the Congress which has passed. Until we can meet them—the issues of the railroad, shipping and tariff problems, and of arrangements to be made for our returning soldiers and sailors—until those are met business does not know how to go to work. Therefore, and this is what I have been leading up to, it seems to me a shame that Congress has not been in session for the last month.

I do not wish harshly to blame the President for wanting to go back to that atmosphere of luxury and adulation which surrounded him in Paris. It was very natural, and considering the other commissioners he appointed, I am inclined to think it was wise he should go back. Certainly, if it was the President's purpose to convince the American people that his presence in Paris was indispensable, his selection of fellow negotiators was most sagacious. There is Mr. White. I know him well. I admire him and have a most affectionate feeling for him. He is an able man. But he was appointed as a Republican. Mr. White is a diplomat. It has been his life, and he feels towards parties as the army and navy feel—that they are servants of the administration in power. Intimately as I know him, I did not know what party he belonged

to, but I suspect, after this appointment, that he must have voted for Mr. Wilson in the last election, because I observed that in all these non-partisan or bi-partisan appointments, where Mr. Wilson has appointed a Republican representative, it is pretty certain that the man voted for Mr. Wilson in the election that went before. Take William Kent, on the Tariff Commission, as an example. I have known him for years. He was in the House as a Republican. He was a most eccentric and erratic Republican, and he professed openly and always that he was a free trader, and in the election before he was appointed to the Tariff Commission he not only voted for Wilson, but organized a Wilson club. After Wilson was elected, and when he had to appoint a bi-partisan commission, he put on as a Republican representative William Kent, an avowed free trader, a man who voted for him in the last election. That is rather characteristic of the appointments that have been made during this Administration.

There are two reasons, it seems to me, why it is most important that Congress should be in session. The one I have already alluded to, the preparation of the business program so that the work of the country can proceed. But there is another, though I won't go into the details, for which there is even a more imperative reason. The Senator suggested that the Constitution provides that no money can be drawn from the Treasury except in consequence of appropriations

made by law. The fiscal year begins on the first of July. That means that when the first of July comes, if appropriations have not been made and passed before that date, there is not any money with which to pay the expenses of the government. The wheels of government will stop on July 1st unless before that date the appropriation bills have been passed. When the Republicans were in power for 16 years up to 1910 the appropriation bills always went through on time, but since 1910—I think it is one of the specimens of Democratic inefficiency—the Democrats have failed to pass some of those indispensable appropriation bills. How did they get round it? Because something must be done; because on the first of July there would be nothing with which to pay the clerks. So on the last day of June they passed what is called a continuing resolution, a resolution which continues the appropriation bills of the preceding year for one month at the same rate, and during that month they hope to pass, and generally do pass, the delayed appropriation bills. This year there were six big supply bills which the Democrats were not able to pass between September and March, and they amounted to about \$3,500,000,000 in all. Congress must be called to pass those six appropriation bills, or else to pass resolutions, because if they do not, after July 1st there will be no money with which to run the government. This year it is peculiarly necessary we should pass the bills themselves, and not one of these continuing resolutions, because the bills

passed last year were bills providing for war expenses, and were infinitely larger than we shall need next year.

Take the army. The bill which the Democrats in the last Congress put through the House, and which failed in the Senate provided a little more than \$1,000,000,000 for the army next year, but the bills which were passed the year before for the army when we were in the war provided for \$11,000,000,000.

Now we do not want to pass a continuing resolution and put money in the hands of the army at the rate of \$11,000,000,000 a year and let the officers revel in it, for they are not all like Gen. Edwards. (Laughter.) Consequently it is extremely important that the next Congress should have time to pass the bills which the last Congress was not able to pass, but the President does not seem disposed to give us the opportunity. It is perhaps complimentary to the Republicans that he thinks that we can pass in two months bills which his own party could not pass in three months. Yet if we are to go into any investigation of them we shall have to have time. It begins to look as if they do not want us to have any investigation. Then there are a couple of appropriation bills that apply to this year. One of them is for \$750,000,000 for the railroads. They need that now to provide for the immediate necessities of the railroads. I understand that Mr. Hines is raising money somehow, and from investigations of my own I infer that some of his means

are of questionable legality. But in the other deficiency bill there are payments for all kinds of activities of the government from March 1st to July 1st. It provided for the payment to soldiers and sailors of sums due them from the War Risk Insurance Bureau, for family allowances of soldiers and sailors, and for numerous needs in different departments. These payments cannot be made until the bills are passed, yet we are left with no possibility of providing for them.

It is not necessary that the President should come here before he calls us together. He can summon Congress from Paris, as well as from here. Last Winter he was absent for some weeks. Business suffered, of course. A number of bills did not become law for several weeks and had to come back from Paris by mail. The same would be true now. That Congress was probably more subservient to his wishes than the next one will be. Therefore his presence was a little more indispensable. Let us meanwhile begin to get our minds on the work. Let us study the tariff question, the railroad question, the shipping problem and all those other problems of utmost importance that are hanging over the business of the community, because we cannot get started until they are settled. They cannot be settled in a short time. There has got to be long discussion, long investigation and compromise. And please remember, when you get provoked, as you certainly will after the settle-

ment has not come, that we have waited now for more than a month, and nobody knows how much more time we shall have to wait before a beginning can be made on those problems.

I have been for twenty-six years in Congress. I suppose that during that time I have had about the same views that the Massachusetts environment compels almost every Congressman to have. They say that as a man grows older he grows more conservative. I was elected Speaker, strangely enough, you may think, by the more progressive or the younger men of the party. I confess, I think I rather reverse the ordinary custom, and as I have grown older I have grown more radical. I think it would make some of my supporters smile if they knew what my radicalism was. At the same time I presume it is true of every man here. As you look back for twenty years and think of the line of difference there was then between radicals and conservatives, I suspect that almost every man who was then a radical would be in the conservative ranks today. There has been such a movement forward, such changes of outlook on social questions, that, as I say, a radical of twenty years ago would be a conservative now.

I confess that my sympathy has grown stronger and stronger with that class of our community who get the least pecuniary rewards for their work. An increased share by them in the profits of production will have the effect of stabilizing

our social life. Therefore I am glad to do what I can in legislation for the improvement of the community. Of course, I do not believe that there is any sanction for the doctrine so much promulgated that the state owes every man a living. The state owes every man a fair opportunity for earning a living, but as long as there is misery and crime and laziness we cannot give every man a living. If you give every man a fair chance, that is all we can hope to do, and that is what all parties are more and more disposed to do.

I hope that the common feelings which this war has aroused, the mingling of all classes together, especially in camp and army life, and the discovery that there is the same human element in all classes, will tend to the democratization and unification of our society. So our legislation must all be charged with a certain human sympathy akin to that which first created the great Republican party. But while we are all encouraging ourselves in that feeling there is no shutting of our eyes to the menace which is now attacking us. Of course, in regard to that everybody here is united, but we do find that right here in the United States of America there are organizations which are trying by propaganda to spread the same menace which seems to be engulfing Europe. Against that we must all be united. I confess that I was very much disappointed as I read the stirring, the rhetorical, the most admirable speeches our President made in Europe, extolling democracy and the lifting up of

peoples there. I regret that there was not occasionally another tone in his addresses. It seemed to me that in view of the menace that was threatening all Europe any man having the ear of all the nations might now and then have suggested that freedom has its responsibilities as well as its blessings, might have suggested that liberty can only be permanent when it has order as its handmaid, and might have suggested, drawing from the experience of this country, that there must be supremacy of law in order that there may be any permanent progress.

For 130 years our government has gone on steadily progressing, steadily giving to the people great freedom, and at the same time observing everywhere governmental order, and the great glory of it all, the glory of our form of government, is that there is always an unlimited possibility of progress by the peaceful will of the majority.

That is all we need. As long as the majority can always have its way in peace, then we shall always have order and progress. The progress may be slow, but we do not want here the levelling processes of revolution, and this is no place for agitation by the bomb and the torch. What we want is the progress our form of government provides for. That we shall all stand by, and by standing together, by insisting that progress shall observe the law and not trample on the law, we are going to be permanently what we are today, the freest, safest and happiest country in the world. (Cheers.)

## AMERICA FIRST.

By Hon. George H. Moses, U. S. Senator from New Hampshire.  
Address at Home Market Club Dinner, April 17, 1919.

Mr. President and Members and  
Guests of the Home Market Club:

The war is supposed to be over, but conscription still continues, and if you wish to know the real reason for the breakdown in the telephone system in New England, it is that last Monday night the Secretary of this Club managed to effect communication with me in New Hampshire to tell me I was drafted to occupy the place of another speaker who could not be present. That was the blow which crushed Father Burleson and shut down the wires.

I have come here only to experience a succession of shocks. I have learned among other things that this question of conservation, so far as it relates to the manufacturers here represented, is all bunk, and that the members of the Home Market Club, at any rate, are still able to generate a considerable amount of energy upon water. (Laughter.)

And I have been shocked, Mr. President, at your reference to the difficulties which impeded the progress of cable communication with distant parts of the world. Do you not know that at Paris open covenants are being openly arrived at, behind closed doors, at whose key hole, as Lloyd George said yesterday, wild men are shrieking, and that in consequence no other news could pass through the wire?

And, Mr. Speaker, your references to the absence from the country of

so many of the responsible agents of the government lead me to recall to you, or at any rate to bring to your mind, because the Senator from Massachusetts has pointed out that your youth will not enable you to recall them for yourself, those lines which from the summit of my years I can remember, the lines of the song in the old comic opera, "They never will be missed." But cheer up, my friends. Our peripatetic President will one day return, and already the Henry F. Hollis Marching Club of Ward 4, Manchester, New Hampshire, is making preparations against that great day, and its favorite poet, J. Wellington Spriggs of the board of aldermen of Fosterville has written a verse which we shall commit to memory and all go to the dock at that port where the President will make his next speech in America in favor of a league of nations, and sing:

"Hung be the heavens, with roseate  
pink;

Go hide thee, sun, with envy blink.  
Our President returns today.  
What President? Oh, come now,  
say?

The President who's been away.  
He now comes back, we hope, to  
stay."

I said, ladies and gentlemen, that the war was supposed to be over, but I am not sure of it. In fact, when I reflect on the reluctance with which the Administration entered the war and at the same time think of the difficulty with which it emerges from

the war, I call to mind nothing so much as the homely and possibly vulgar, but altogether expressive simile Deacon Simpkins gave of a certain animal when he said he almost had to peel its durned ears off to get it to start, and then almost had to pull its durned tail off to get it to quit.

But we are making progress. It is true that many months have elapsed since that day when the conqueror's victory should have permitted us to impose a victor's peace upon the German immediately. (Applause.) But we are making progress. The embarrassed cables to which you have referred, Mr. President, this morning informed us in point of fact that the 14 points have been well established at Paris with the exception of 12 or 13, and we should take comfort in that fact because, as we all know, our brave boys in khaki took those 14 points and made them part of their faith and action, because the President told Congress so on the 2nd of last December. And that moved a versifying friend of mine to emblazon that thought in rhyme. I hope that I may claim immunity, even though Congress is in recess, if I read the results of that gifted poet's labors in commenting upon the President's statement:

"Jos Jimsonweed, a corporal from out  
in Yankakakee,  
Went forth to meet a German squad  
and chased them up a tree;  
And as he did so, loud he cried above  
the battle's roar,  
'Hurrah for our dear President—and  
Peace Point Number Four.'"

"Pat Murphy of the horse marines, a  
leather-neck of old,  
Met up one day with seven Huns and  
laid the muckers cold.  
He murmured as he put an end to all  
their evil tricks,  
'My only motive is my love for Peace  
Point Number Six.'"

"Upon the battlefield was found,  
right at the point of death,  
A gallant lad who said these words  
with scant and failing breath,  
'Tis sad to think that in this way I  
should have met my fate,  
But never mind, I've done my bit  
for Peace Point Number  
Eight.'"

"Oh, many a time in blood-stained  
France the standers-by could  
hear  
Our Yankees charge into the fray  
with this resounding cheer:  
'Huzzah, huzzah, we'll win the day,  
and never shall we cease,  
Till we have forced upon the foe our  
Fourteen Points of Peace.'"

And yet, Mr. President, of the 14 points there is but one remaining. Gone are all the others—the freedom of the seas, the breaking down of economic barriers, the waiving of indemnities and negotiations, and every other essential of the glittering program.

But I fear that I have wandered from the printed text assigned to me, "America First." I have had one great opportunity of late to show my belief in that stirring slogan, and it came to me on that fateful night of March 3rd, when I was enabled to put my signature beneath the handwriting of the distinguished leader of the Republicans in the United States, Henry Cabot Lodge, when we

signed the round-robin. A Boston reporter the other night, with an imagination and a vocabulary exceeding mine, put into my mouth the expression that I said I had been "a blithesome fifth" to sign that instrument. A fifth I was, but I do not recall that I did it blithesomely. I did it rather as the prayer book enjoins those entering the holy state of matrimony, soberly, reverently and in the fear of God. And I have never seen a minute from that hour to this when I have weakened in my devotion to the assertion of the round-robin that the covenant of the league of nations as proposed then should be rejected by the Senate of the United States.

Now, I claim to be an expert in this league of nations game. I helped to make a league of nations once, and I have never forgotten with what pride in July, 1912, we stood by the cradle of the Balkan Federation, nor shall I ever be able to blot from my mind the humiliating grief with which we followed its hearse in less than twelve months. I do not believe human nature has been changed by this war, and I do not believe any league of nations can possibly be set up which could have a more elevating motive or a more practical incentive to go through to the uttermost with all its obligations than the Balkan League, which sought to throw off the subjection of 400 years of humiliation under Turkish rule, and to restore the great peoples of the Balkan peninsula to their rightful

territory. That league lasted only so long as every nation in it thought it was getting the long end of it.

So I confess to a huge amount of skepticism that any league of nations can be formed which will last. But I do not oppose a league of nations. Like the Speaker of the House of Representatives, who has here declared his faith, and like the gallant leader I have been proud to follow in these last months, and whom I shall be proud to follow in the busy months to come, I do not object to a league of nations. But if we enter that league of nations I want America first, not ninth.

When we answer the question which any practical covenant of a league of nations must lay before us, "Is America ready here and now to say she will take part in the next war, no matter where it may be, nor who the belligerents, nor what its issues are, and will do so at the majority vote of a council made up of foreign nations whose judgment will often be heard on a side which will not appeal to the American conscience?"—then I want to be in a position to say that when America enters the next war she shall go forth as she did in the last war, and as she has in every war, with head erect, with eyes ablaze, with heart courageous, and in her hand an unsheathed sword drawn at the impulse of her own great heart, and so be, as we hope she always will be—America First.

(Loud cheers.)



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